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As in physics, there is no body which has any inherent quality in perfection, so in the civil and political constitutions of men, each one, however idiocratical and purely simple, in theory, in fact runs into and blends with every other, in a greater or less degree. This remark holds good as to governments, throughought the whole scale, from a pure democracy to a perfect despotism. or use these terms in their theoretical meaning; by which the former excludes all idea of representation; for, although it be in be in the peoples' power, at will or at certain seasons to remove their representatives, still, as long as the power is out of the hands of the nation at large, no pure democracy exists. In fact, such a government cannot exist a day without encroachment and an adulteration of its principles. Neither can a perfect despotism exist in practice; the very instruments that are employed to maintain it being the constant antidote to its consummation. The physical power requisite to support a tyranny will always keep the tyrant in awe; and he can only preserve the greater share of authority, as he understands how to manage that dangerous force.

As he who unskillfully handles some mechanical or chemical apparatus, is in danger of being the victim of his own ignorance, so the conqueror of a country runs the hazard of losing his prize, from the hands of those who won it. The Macedonian victor owed all his security to the attachment of his soldiery. And the Turkish Emperor is awed by his Janizaries —

As there can be no body perfectly elastic, or perfectly void of that quality so the extremes of government can never exist. And if we make a series, beginning with simple absolute monarchy & ending with pure democracy; while of the two means, one is the limited and mixed monarchy, and the other the republic, elective and representative, we shall find them but different modifications of the adjustment of power, all containing features of each other, and that more or less as they are nearer or more remote in this proposed order.

But it is in the Patriarchal form of government that the seeds of all others are found. Without being compelled to adopt the philosophical fiction of an original compact among men, in the family economy of our first parents or rather of the patriarch who survived the deluge, the embryo fabrics of all governments are discovered, rude indeed in their original substrata but sufficiently obvious for detection. Graven in the modes of men's thoughts and actions by the deep and silent powers of time and habit, they lapsed into them by imperceptible gradations; the seed took root in their infancy, expanded with their age; successive generations develope its proportions and properties.

Or, in other words, the habit of obedience without which men cannot exist is variously modified by accidents physical and moral; by climate, soil and the features of the country; or by intercourse or quarrels with other clans or families— but in the original economy of the original family we may discover the prototypes and exemplars of their subsequent modifications. We may open the scheme of their nativity and discover all the possible accidents to which they can ever be subjected.

To mark the outlines of the most prominent genera of governments in the features of the patriarchal, is the object of this essay.

— Better teaching
In their majestic unaffected style
The solid rules of civil government
Than all the oratory of Greece & Rome.
In them is plainest taught & easiest learnd
What makes a nation happy & keeps it so,
What ruins kingdoms & lays cities flat.
Paradise Regained. L: IV.

I. A simple monarchy is the next step in the ladder of government after the Patriarchal, and resembles that system more than any other. That the Patriarchs of old were autocrats and had absolute power over the liberty and lives of every individual in their family, we learn from Scripture. The Patriarchs were monarchs in every sense of the word, and the allegiance of their subjects was secured by every tie that can bind the human heart to consistent obedience — by the affinity of blood; by the impressions of infancy; by reverence; by fear; by love; by dependence; by religion. In these brief remarks we shall not here enumerate the different classes who composed the numerous families of the scriptural Patriarchs, the mode of their adoption, or their rank.

The lapse into a kingly government must have been imperceptible, the change gradual, and the assumption of the title "king" fortuitory. The idea of an election, seems needless and productive of wrong consequences, even in theory. It is inferable from Genesis, that Nimrod was the first, who founded his right to dominion not on the customs of the Patriarchal form, but on a law of his own; not on prescription, but on outrage; not on the love of men, but their fears – in a word in the right of conquest. But not to wander from our path; by the union of families in cities, it should seem probable that the prefect of the colony would be *patriarchus patriarchorum*.

There is something patriarchal in idea of a city, in every age – in its customs, the sympathy of its inhabitants, and its municipal government; its chartered cities give it a hue of independence, and make it an *imperium in imperio*. Cicero's account of the expansion of the social relationships, is a faithful picture corresponding with the development of the tendency & principles of the patriarchal government. "Narrowed" says he[†] " is the simple bond of relationship; infinitely contracted from the "immense communion of mankind. "Since, by nature it is common to all "animals to cherish a desire of contin:

[†] De Off: I. c 18.

-ving their species, the first society is the intercourse of sex: the next is of children; hence a family and common interest in its offspring. This is the principle of a city, the seed of government (reipublicae) the connections of the second generation arise, which when the house becomes too small, leads them to new others, or to form embryo colonies. The bland and endearing connexions of blood tame the minds of men. And great is the influence produced by a common property in the monuments of our ancestors, in our sacred rites, in the places of sepulture."

The title of king, in ancient days appears however to have been assumed indiscriminately by petty princes, as well as by others to whom they were tributary! That their number soon became great, we read in Genesis. Justin thus begins his history. "In the beginning of things, kings ~~were the~~ held the power of people and nations, whom their equanimity approved by good men, and not the ambition of popularity, conducted to the summit of empire. The people had no established law: the will of the prince was in the stead of law."

What Justin means by "spectata moderatio" is not easy to determine. It is not certainly clear that he supposed any original election. But as this everlasting topic of dispute as after all it has nothing to do with our present purpose, we shall say no more.

II. The Hereditary monarchy.

The features of this order of dominion are also discovered in the patriarchal government. The eldest son had the superintendence of the family during the life of the father, and in his old age particularly, and after death inherited the bulk of the patrimony. The law of primogeniture certainly prevailed in the earliest ages. Those who treat of natural law as relating to individuals, say that no man has a right to any thing longer than he can possibly occupy it: and as he has no right to direct the succession to his property so neither does affinity give any one a natural right to it after the owners death, when it belongs to the first occupant. The latter proposition is not tenable. Blackstone chiefly ascri the origin of heirs to their standing near the bed of the dying man and being therefore next occupancy or immediately in possession. We find Abraham lamenting that as he had no heir his steward Eliezer of Damascus born in his house must succeed to his property. But Christian has well remarked on this passage that there is little need of enquiring into the natural course of succession, as the son is certainly the fathers representative. Abraham probably had adopted this Eliezer to manage his concerns, and upon the patriarchs death Eliezer would become his representative.

Abraham wished that Ishmael might be his heir. It is evident from this, that however illegitimate children, or the offspring of concubines might be allotted a portion of the patriarchs personal estate, they could not succeed him in his rights and authority.

The heir apparent, during the Patriarch's life commanded respect from his younger brethren; and while they with families, wandered and settled in different countries, he became lord of his fathers estate upon his death, and was invested with his rights, over the bondmen, taken in war or born in his family, his hired servants, and other retainers; and then with his own accumulations descended from generation to generation, while the patriarchal state continued.

The principles of other governments, discoverable in the original effects of the habit of obedience, will furnish matter for subsequent numbers –

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